

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 AID-05 COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03 TRSE-00  
XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 ACDA-12 IO-13  
CEA-01 STR-06 EUR-12 HA-05 /133 W  
-----006758 131530Z /45

P R 131317Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6892  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 0190

FOR ASST SECY MOOSE FROM CHARGE

THIS IS A JOINT STATE/USAID MESSAGE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PBOR, MOPS, EAID, ET, SO, KE, US  
SUBJ: THOUGHTS ON AN OGADEN SETTLEMENT

REF: STATE 006298 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: IF AND WHEN EITHER ETHIOPIA OR SOMALIA SHOWS SIGNS  
OF WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE SOLUTION OF OGADEN WAR ON TERMS  
SHORT OF COMPLETE VICTORY FOR ONE OR OTHER, EMBASSY THINKS  
MOST PROMISING APPROACH WOULD BE ON BASIS OF RESTORATION OF  
PRE-WAR BOUNDARIES ON SOMALIA'S PART IN RETURN FOR ETHIOPIAN  
IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS OFFICIAL LONG RANGE POLICY OF GRANTING  
REGIONAL AUTONOMY TO VARIOUS ETHIOPIAN NATIONALITIES, INCLUD-  
ING OGADENIS. EMBASSY ALSO SUGGESTS THAT PROPOSAL TO CREATE  
INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM BY WESTERN COUNTRIES AND INTERNA-  
TIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR REHABILITATION OF WAR DAMAGES AND  
LONG RANGE DEVELOPMENT OF ENTIRE ETHNIC SOMALI-INHABITED  
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REGION WOULD DO MUCH TO ENCOURAGE BELLIGERENTS TO NEGOTIAT-  
ING TABLE AND TO ALLAY SECURITY CONCERNS OF OTHER AFFECTED  
COUNTRIES IN HORN, PARTICULARLY KENYA. END SUMMARY.

1. REFTTEL REQUESTS THOUGHTS ON HOW WE CAN MOVE TOWARD END TO  
BLOODSHED AND RESTORATION OF STABILITY IN HORN. ANY REALISTIC  
SOLUTION FIRST REQUIRES SQUARING CIRCLE OF ETHIOPIAN INSIS-

TENCE THAT EVERY SOMALI SOLDIER WITHDRAW FROM PRE-WAR ETHIOPIAN TERRITORY AND SOMALIA'S INSISTENCE THAT ETHNIC SOMALI RESIDENTS OF OGADEN AND ADJOINING AREAS OF ETHIOPIA BE GRANTED FULL RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. ON SURFACE, TWO DEMANDS APPEAR IRRECONCILABLE, AT LEAST WITHOUT SOME WILLINGNESS FROM BOTH SIDES TO COMPROMISE. OF LATE, WE HAVE BEEN URGING COMPROMISE ON TWO BELLIGERENTS, WITHOUT SPELLING OUT WHAT WE THINK MIGHT BE REASONABLE.

2. IT IS MILITARY ESTIMATE OF MOST OBSERVERS THAT ETHIOPIA WILL ULTIMATELY SUCCEED BY FORCE IN RESTORING HER BOUNDARIES, AT GREAT COSTS IN LIVES AND RESOURCES TO BOTH COUNTRIES. UNTIL THAT HAPPENS, OR AT LEAST IS WELL ON WAY TO HAPPENING, PILL OF RESTORING PREVIOUS BOUNDARIES IS BITTER ONE FOR SOMALIS TO HAVE TO SWALLOW, PARTICULARLY GIVEN SOMEWHAT ILLUSORY FACT THAT THEY CURRENTLY OCCUPY 95 PER CENT OF TERRITORY THEY SOUGHT BY INITIATING WAR. FOR PILL TO GO DOWN, SOMETHING SUBSTANTIAL IS ALSO GOING TO HAVE TO GIVE FROM ETHIOPIAN SIDE.

3. IT OCCURS TO EMBASSY THAT, OFFICIALLY IN WORD AT LEAST IF NOT IN DEED, ETHIOPIA IS ALREADY COMMITTED TO OFFER ITS ETHNIC SOMALIS MUCH OF WHAT SOMALIA SEEKS FOR THEM. AS REMINDER, SECTION II.5 OF PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION OF ETHIOPIA, DATED APRIL 20, 1976, THE SO-CALLED BIBLE OF THE REVOLUTION, IS QUOTED AS FOLLOWS:  
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BEGIN QUOTE. THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF ALL NATIONALITIES WILL BE RECOGNIZED AND FULLY RESPECTED...GIVEN ETHIOPIA'S EXISTING SITUATION, THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITIES CAN BE RESOLVED IF EACH NATIONALITY IS ACCORDED FULL RIGHT TO SELF-GOVERNMENT. THIS MEANS THAT EACH NATIONALITY WILL HAVE REGIONAL AUTONOMY TO DECIDE ON MATTERS CONCERNING ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS. WITHIN ITS ENVIRONS, IT HAS THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THE CONTENTS OF ITS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE, USE ITS OWN LANGUAGE AND ELECT ITS OWN LEADERS AND ADMINISTRATORS TO HEAD ITS INTERNAL ORGANS. THIS RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT OF NATIONALITIES WILL BE IMPLEMENTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ALL DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES AND PRINCIPLES. END QUOTE.

4. EPMG FURTHER REAFFIRMED THIS INTENTION IN POINT 2 OF SO-CALLED NINE-POINT PROGRAM OF 16 MAY 1976, ADDRESSING PEACEFUL MEANS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS OF ERITREA, AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN QUOTE. THE PROGRAMME OF THE ETHIOPIAN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION HAS AFFIRMED THAT THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF NATIONALITIES CAN BE GUARANTEED THROUGH REGIONAL

AUTONOMY WHICH TAKES DUE ACCOUNT OF OBJECTIVE REALITIES PREVAILING IN ETHIOPIA, HER SURROUNDINGS AND IN THE WORLD AT LARGE. TO TRANSLATE THIS INTO DEEDS, THE GOVERNMENT WILL STUDY EACH OF THE REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY, THE HISTORY AND INTERACTIONS OF THE NATIONALITIES INHABITING THEM, THEIR GEOGRAPHIC POSITIONS, ECONOMIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SUITABILITY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND ADMINISTRATION. AFTER TAKING THESE INTO CONSIDERATION, THE GOVERNMENT WILL AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME PRESENT TO THE PEOPLE THE STRUCTURE OF THE REGIONS THAT CAN EXIST IN THE FUTURE. THE ENTIRE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE WILL THEN DEMOCRATICALLY DISCUSS THE ISSUE AT VARIOUS LEVELS AND DECIDE UPON IT THEMSELVES. END QUOTE.

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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6893

INFO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 0190

FOR ASST SECY MOOSE FROM CHARGE

THIS IS A JOINT STATE/USAID MESSAGE

5. NOW, EMBASSY REALIZES THAT CENTRALIZED MARXIST GOVERNMENT SUCH AS EPMG HAS SOMETHING DIFFERENT IN MIND WHEN IT REFERS TO "REGIONAL AUTONOMY" OR "SELF-DETERMINATION" THAN MOST LIBERATION MOVEMENTS DO. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT TWO DOCUMENTS QUOTED ABOVE REPRESENT ONLY BASIS ON WHICH PRESSURE CAN BE EXERTED AGAINST ETHIOPIANS TO MAKE MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS TO SOMALIA IN RETURN FOR BORDER RESTORATION. US OR OTHER FOREIGN WOULD-BE MEDIATORS CAN EXPECT NO HELP FROM SOVIET UNION OR OTHER COMMUNIST MENTORS OF ETHIOPIA IN PERSUADING HER TO CONCEDE MORE THAN SOME FORM OF AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC ARRANGEMENT SIMILAR TO THAT EXISTING IN USSR ITSELF,

IF THAT. TO OUR MINDS, THIS WOULD NOT FILL BILL. ON OTHER HAND, YUGOSLAV DIPLOMATS HERE WOULD LIKE TO SEE AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC SYSTEM SIMILAR TO THEIR OWN EMERGE, WHICH MIGHT BE EASIER TO SELL TO SOMALIS.

6. GOING BEYOND SIMPLE DICTATES OF REASON AS GROUNDS FOR  
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REACHING SETTLEMENT, WE BELIEVE THAT ONCE AGAIN MOST PERSUASIVE TOOL WHICH WESTERN WELL-WISHERS COULD BRING TO BEAR ON NEGOTIATING EQUATION TO GET BELLIGERENTS TO BARGAINING TABLE IS REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. PROPOSAL PRESENTED FROM OUTSIDE COULD HAVE FAR GREATER ATTRACTION TO BOTH BELLIGERENTS IF IT WERE BASED ON THREEFOLD FOUNDATION OF (A) RESTORATION OF BOUNDARIES (ETHIOPIAN WAR AIM); (B) SELF-DETERMINATION IN SOME FORM FOR OGADENI INHABITANTS (SOMALI WAR AIM); AND (C) ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM (D) TO PROVIDE MASSIVE ASSISTANCE IN RECONSTRUCTING PROPERTY DAMAGED BY WAR, RESETTLING DISPLACED PERSONS, AND EMERGENCY FOOD, HEALTH, AND OTHER RELIEF MEASURES, AND (E) TO WORK OUT, WITH OGADENI COOPERATION, LONG RANGE PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT FOR REGION, EXTENDING BEYOND SOMALIA AND KENYA BORDERS TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC BENEFITS TO INHABITANTS IN ALL THREE COUNTRIES.

7. BY SEPTTEL, EMBASSY IS SUBMITTING ONE VERY PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE OF SCOPE, COST, AND TIMING OF ASSISTANCE PROGRAM OF THIS KIND, BASED ON FOUR BASIC CATEGORIES OF (A) WAR CONSTRUCTION; (B) RE-INITIATION OF PRE-WAR DROUGHT REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS; (C) INITIATION OF NEW DEVELOPMENT; AND (D) TRADE/MINERAL EXPLOITATION OR PRIVATE/STATE REVENUE-PRODUCING INVESTMENT.

8. EMBASSY REALIZES THERE ARE MANY IFS IN ABOVE SCHEME (E.G., ETHIOPIAN ARMED FORCES DESIRE TO RECIPROCATATE IN KIND FOR BEATING THEY RECEIVED FROM SOMALIS IN EARLY STAGES OF WAR, SOMALI AMBITION TO ACQUIRE TERRITORY AND NOT ONLY TO ASSURE SELF-DETERMINATION, FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, CURRENT NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS TOWARDS INCREASING DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA, LACK OF PROFESSIONAL OGADENI CADRE TO RUN AN AUTONOMOUS REGION, FACT THAT LONG  
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RANGE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WOULD REQUIRE SEVERAL YEARS OF STUDY AND PLANNING WITHOUT VISIBLE RESULTS, TO NAME ONLY A FEW). WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IF PURSUED WITH SUFFICIENT

DETERMINATION, SETTLEMENT OF THIS KIND WOULD HAVE ADVANTAGE  
OF PROVIDING SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE CONCERNED, EVEN KENYA,  
WHOSE CONCERNS FIGURE PROMINENTLY IN ANY EFFORT TO PROMOTE  
STABILITY IN HORN.  
MATHERON

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## Message Attributes

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